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## STATUTES OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE SOVIET UNION

### I. The Party. Party Members, their Duties and Rights

1. The Communist Party of the Soviet Union is a voluntary militant union of like-minded Communists consisting of people from the working class, the working peasants and working intelligentsia.

Having organised the alliance between the working class and the working peasantry the Communist Party of the Soviet Union achieved, through the great October socialist Revolution of 1917, the overthrow of the power of the capitalists and landlords, the organisation of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the abolition of capitalism, elimination of exploitation of man by man and ensured the building of a Socialist society.

Now the principle tasks of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union consist in building Communist society by way of gradual transition from Socialism to Communism, in steadily raising the material and cultural level of society, in educating the members of society in the spirit of internationalism and in the spirit of establishing fraternal ties with the working people of all countries, in strengthening to the utmost active defence of the Soviet homeland against the aggressive actions of her enemies.

2. Membership in the Communist Party of the Soviet Union is open to every working person, every citizen of the Soviet Union who does not exploit the labour of others, who accepts the Programme and Statutes of the Party, actively promotes their realisation, who works in one of the Party organisations and carries out all the Party's decisions.

A member of the Party pays the established membership dues.

### 3. It is the duty of the Party member:

a) to guard in every possible way the unity of the Party as the principle prerequisite of the strength and might of the Party;

b) to strive actively for fulfilment of the Party decisions. It is not enough for the Party member merely to agree with the Party decisions, it is the duty of the Party member to fight for the carrying of these decisions into life. A passive and formal attitude by Communists to Party decisions weakens the Party's fighting efficiency and is, therefore, incompatible with membership of the Party;

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c) to show an example in labour, to master the technique of his profession and constantly improve his industrial and professional skill; in all ways to safeguard and strengthen public socialist property as the sacred and inviolable basis of the Soviet system.

d) daily to strengthen contact with the masses, promptly to respond to the requirements and needs of the working people, to explain to the non-party masses the essence of the policy and decisions of the Party, being mindful that the source of our Party's strength and invincibility is its close and unbreakable ties with the people;

e) to endeavour to deepen his consciousness, to master the principles of Marxism-Leninism;

f) to observe Party and state discipline, equally binding for all Party members. In the Party there cannot be two disciplines -- one for leaders and another for the rank and file. The Party has one discipline, one law for all Communists, irrespective of their merits or posts. Violation of Party and state discipline is a great evil, harmful to the Party, and is, therefore, incompatible with Party membership;

g) to develop self-criticism and criticism from below, disclose shortcomings in the work and strive to eliminate them, to fight against ostentatious complacency and against being carried away by successes in work. Suppression of criticism is a grievous evil. He who stifles criticism, who substitutes it by pompousness and bragging has no place in the ranks of the Party;

h) to report shortcomings in work to the leading Party organs up to and including the Central Committee of the Party, irrespective of whom it may concern. A Party member has no right to conceal an unsatisfactory state of affairs, to ignore incorrect actions harmful to the interests of the Party and the state. He who hinders a Party member in fulfilling this duty must be strictly punished as a violator of the will of the Party;

i) to be truthful and honest to the Party, to permit no concealment or distortion of the truth. A Communist's untruthfulness to the Party and deception of the Party are very great evils and incompatible with Party membership;

j) to keep Party and state secrets, to display political vigilance, remembering that the vigilance of Communists is necessary everywhere and under all circumstances. Disclosure of Party and state secrets is a crime against the Party and incompatible with Party membership;

k) in any post entrusted by the Party, unswervingly to carry out the Party's instructions concerning the correct selection of cadres in accordance with their political and professional qualifications. Violation of these instructions, the selection of workers on the basis of friendly relations, personal attachment, neighbourly ties and kinship is incompatible with Party membership.

4. A Party member has the right:

- a) to take part in free and businesslike discussion of questions of Party policy at Party meetings or in the Party press;
- b) to criticise any Party functionary at Party meetings;
- c) to elect and be elected to Party organs;
- d) to demand to be present in person whenever decisions are taken regarding his activities or conduct;
- e) to address any question or statement to any Party body up to and including the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

5. Members are admitted to the Party only individually. New members are admitted from among candidates who have passed through the specified probationary period. Membership of the Party is open to conscious and active workers, peasants and intellectuals devoted to the cause of Communism.

Persons may join the Party on attaining the age of 18.

The procedure of admission of candidates to full Party membership is as follows:

- a) Applicants for membership must submit recommendations from three Party members who have a Party standing of not less than three years and who know the applicants from having working with them for not less than one year.

(Note 1)--In the case of members of the Young Communist League applying for membership in the Party, the recommendation of a district committee of the Young Communist League is equivalent to the recommendation of one Party member.

(Note 2)--Members and member candidates of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union shall refrain from giving recommendations.

b) Applications for Party membership are discussed and decided upon at the general meeting of the primary Party organisation whose decision takes effect after endorsement by the district Party committee or by the city Party Committee in cities with no district divisions.

The presence of the nominators at the discussion of application for Party membership is not essential.

c) Young people up to the age of 20 may join the Party only through the Young Communist League.

d) Former members of other parties are admitted to the Party on the recommendation of five Party members: three of ten years Party standing and two of pre-revolutionary Party standing, they may be admitted only through the primary Party organisation and the endorsement of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union is essential.

6. The sponsors bear the responsibility for their recommendations.

7. The Party standing of a candidate member admitted to full membership dates from the day of the decision of the general meeting of the primary Party organisation to adopt him as full member.

8. A member of one Party organisation who removes to the locality of another Party organisation shall be entered on the membership rolls of the latter.

(Note)--The transfer of Party members from one organisation to another is effected in accordance with regulations laid down by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

9. Party members or candidates who fail to pay membership dues for three months in succession without sufficient reason are regarded as having automatically dropped out of the Party, a decision to this effect is taken by the primary Party organisation and is subject to endorsement by the Party district committee or city committee.

10. The question of the expulsion of a member from the Party is decided by the general meeting of the primary Party organisation to which he belongs, and must be endorsed by the district or city Party committee. The decision of a district or city Party committee to expel a member takes effect only when endorsed by the regional committee, province committee or Central Committee of the Communist Party of a Union Republic.

Until such time as his expulsion is endorsed by the regional committee, province committee or Central Committee of the Communist Party of a Union

Republic, the Party member retains his membership card and is entitled to attend closed Party meetings.

11. A primary Party organisation cannot adopt a decision regarding the expulsion of a Communist from the Party or the return to candidate status if he is a member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of a Union Republic, of a regional committee, province committee, area committee, city committee or district committee of the Party.

The question of the removal from the Party Committee or the expulsion from the Party of a member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of a Union Republic, of a regional committee, province committee, area committee, city committee or district committee of the Party or the return of the member to candidate status is decided by the plenum of the respective committee if the plenum decides by a two-thirds vote that this is necessary.

12. The question of the expulsion of a member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union from the Central Committee or from Party membership or the return of the member to candidate status is decided by the Party congress or, between congresses, by the plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union by a two-thirds majority of the members of the plenum of the Central Committee. A person expelled from the Central Committee is automatically replaced by a member candidate of the Central Committee according to the procedure specified by the congress for electing member candidates of the Central Committee.

13. In cases where a Party member has committed an offense punishable by the courts, he is expelled from the Party on receipt of the reports on his misdeeds from the administrative and judicial authorities.

14. When the question of the expulsion of a Party member is discussed the maximum caution and comradely consideration must be ensured and the grounds for the accusations brought against the Party member thoroughly investigated.

In the case of minor offences the measures of Party education and influence should be applied (admonition, reprimand, etc.) and not expulsion from the Party which is the supreme Party penalty.

In case of necessity as a Party penalty the Party organisation may transfer a Party member to the status of candidate for a term of up to one year. The decision of a primary Party organisation to return a Party member to candidate status is subject to confirmation by the district or city Party committee. On expiration of the established period the person who has been

returned to candidate status is admitted to Party membership on a regular basis and retains his former period of Party status.

15. Appeals against expulsion from the Party and also decisions of Party organisations about expulsion from the Party must be examined by the Party organs to which they are addressed not later than twenty days from the date of receipt.

## II. Candidates for Party Membership

16. All persons desirous of joining the Party must pass through a probationary period as candidates for Party membership, the object of which is to give them an opportunity to familiarise themselves with the Programme, the statutes and tactics of the Party and to enable the Party organisation to test the personal qualities of the candidate.

17. The procedure of admission of Party candidates (individual admission, submission of recommendations and their verification, decision of the primary Party organisation as to admission and the endorsement of the decision) is identical with the procedure of admission of Party members.

18. The status of candidate lasts one year.

A Party organisation must help candidates to prepare to join the Party. Upon the expiration of the candidate's term a Party organisation shall consider at a Party meeting the question of the candidate's Party membership.

If the candidate has been unable to prepare himself sufficiently for reasons which the Party organisation consider valid, the primary Party organisation may prolong his candidature for a period of not more than one year. In cases when it has been established during the course of the candidature that a candidate, due to his personal quality, is not worthy of being admitted to the Party, the Party organisation passes a decision on his expulsion from candidate membership. Decisions of the primary Party organization prolonging candidature or expelling from candidature come into force after their ratification by the district or city Party committee.

19. Candidates for Party membership attend the meetings of the organisation to which they belong and have a voice but no vote.

20. Candidates pay the usual membership dues to the local Party committee.

### III. Organisation of the Party. Internal Party Democracy

21. The guiding principle of the organisational structure of the Party is democratic centralism, which signifies:

- a) the election of all leading Party bodies from the highest to the lowest;
- b) periodical reports by the Party bodies to their Party organisations;
- c) strict Party discipline and subordination of the minority to the majority;
- d) the absolutely binding character of the decisions of higher bodies upon lower bodies.

22. ~~The~~ Party is built on the territorial-industrial principle: a Party organisation serving a given area is regarded as higher than any Party organisation serving part of the area; and a Party organisation serving a whole branch of work is regarded as higher than any Party organisation serving part of that branch of work.

23. All Party organisations are autonomous in deciding local questions provided that their decisions do not conflict with the decisions of the Party.

24. The highest governing body in each Party organisation is the general membership meeting (in the case of primary organisations), conference (e.g. in the case of district or regional organisations) or congress (in the case of Communist Parties of Union Republics and in the case of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union).

25. The general meeting, conference or Congress elects a bureau or committee which acts as its executive body and directs all the current work of the particular organisation.

26. Voting by lists of candidates in the election of Party bodies is forbidden. Voting shall be individual in relation to all candidates, every Party member being ensured unlimited right to challenge the candidates nominated and to criticise them. Voting for candidates shall be by closed (secret) ballot.

27. In towns and district centres meetings of the active members of the city and Party district organisations shall be convened for the discussion



of the more important decisions of the Party and the Government. Actives shall be convened not for parade and the formal and ceremonial approval of decisions but for their genuine discussion.

28. Free and business-like discussion of questions of Party policy in individual organisations or in the Party as a whole is the inalienable right of every Party members and follows from internal Party democracy. Only on the basis of internal Party democracy is it possible to develop Bolshevik self-criticism and to strengthen Party discipline which must be conscious and not mechanical.

But wide discussion, especially discussion on an all-Union scale of questions of Party policy must be so organised as to prevent it leading to attempts by an insignificant minority to impose their will upon the majority of the Party, or to attempts to form fractional groupings which break the unity of the Party, attempts at splits which may shake the strength and firmness of the socialist system.

A wide discussion on an all-Union scale can be regarded as necessary only if:

a) this necessity is recognized by at least several local Party organisations on the scale of a region or a republic;

b) if there is not a sufficiently solid majority in the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union on major questions of Party policy;

c) if despite the existence of the solid majority of the Central Committee advocating a definite standpoint, the Central Committee still deems it necessary to test the correctness of its policy by means of a discussion in the Party.

Only compliance with these conditions can safeguard the Party against abuse of internal Party democracy by anti-Party elements, only under these conditions is it possible to count on internal Party democracy benefiting the cause and not being used to the detriment of the Party and the working class.

#### IV. Higher Party Organs

29. The supreme organ of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union is the Party Congress. Ordinary Congresses are convened not less than once in four years. Extraordinary congresses are convened by the Central Committee



of the Party on its own initiative or at the demand of not less than 1/3 of the total membership represented at the preceding Party congress.

The convocation of a Party congress and its agenda shall be announced not later than a month and a half before the Congress. Extraordinary Congresses shall be convened within two months.

The Congress is regarded as properly constituted if the delegates represent not less than one half of the total Party membership represented at the preceding ordinary Congress.

The basis of representation at a Party Congress is determined by the Central Committee.

30. In the event of the Central Committee of the Party failing to call an extraordinary Congress within the period specified in clause 29, Party organisations demanding it have the right to form an organising committee, which shall enjoy the powers of the Central Committee of the Party as regards the convocation of the extraordinary Congress.

31. The Congress:

a) hears and acts on the reports of the Central Committee of the Party, of the Central Inspection Commission and of other Central organisations;

b) revises and amends the programme and the statutes of the Party;

c) determines the tactical line of the Party on major questions of current policy;

d) elects the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Central Inspection Commission.

32. The composition of the Party Central Committee and Central Inspection Commission is determined, and their members are elected by the congress. In the event of loss of members of the Central Committee, its membership is replenished from among the candidates elected by the congress.

33. The Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union holds not less than one plenary meeting every six months. Member candidates of the Central Committee attend its plenary meetings with voice but no vote.

34. The Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union forms a Presidium to direct the work of the Central Committee between

plenary meetings and a Secretariat to direct current work primarily organisation of verification of the fulfilment of Party decisions and selection of cadres.

35. The Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union forms a Party Control Committee under the Central Committee.

The Party Control Committee at the Central Committee of the Party:

a) verifies the observance of Party discipline by members and member candidates of the Party, calls to responsibility Communists guilty of violating the programme and statutes of the Party, Party and state discipline as well as violators of Party ethics (deception of the Party, dishonesty and insincerity before the Party, slander, bureaucracy, dissoluteness in personal life and so on);

b) examines appeals against decisions of Central Committees of the Communist Parties of Union Republics, territorial and regional committees of the Party regarding expulsion from the Party and Party disciplinary measures;

c) maintains its authorised representatives in republics, territories, and regions, who are independent of the local Party bodies.

36. The Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union guides the entire work of the Party between congresses, represents the Party in its relations with other parties, organisations and institutions, sets up various Party institutions and guides their activities, appoints editorial boards of the central organs under its control and confirms the appointment of editorial boards of the Party organs of big local organisations, organises and directs the work of institutions of public significance, allocates the forces and resources of the Party and manages the central funds.

THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE DIRECTS THE WORK OF CENTRAL SOVIET AND PUBLIC ORGANISATIONS THROUGH PARTY GROUPS WITHIN THEM.

37. In order to strengthen leadership and political work, the Central Committee of the Party has the right to set up political departments and to assign Party organisers of the Central Committee to individual sectors of socialist constructions which have acquired special importance for the national economy and the country as a whole, as well as, to the degree that the political departments fulfil their tasks, to abolish them or convert them into ordinary Party organs built on the industrial-territorial principle.

The work of the political departments is determined by special instructions endorsed by the Central Committee.

38. The Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union keeps Party organisations regularly informed about its work.

39. The Central Auditing Commission investigates: a) whether affairs are handled expeditiously and properly by the Central organs of the Party and whether the apparatus of the Secretariat of the Central Committee is working smoothly; b) audits the accounts of the treasury and the enterprises of the Central Committee of the Party.

#### V. Regional, Province and Republican Party Organisations

40. The highest organ of a regional (Oblast), province (Krai) or republican (Republika) Party organisation is the regional or province Party conference or the Congress of the Communist Party of the Union Republic, and in the interval between these--the Regional Committee, Province Committee or Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Union Republic. They are guided in their activities by the decisions of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and its leading bodies.

41. Ordinary regional or province conference or congress of the Communist Party of the Union Republic is convened once every eighteen months by the particular regional or province committee or Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Union Republic, while an extraordinary conference or congress is convened by decision of the particular regional committee, province committee or central committee of the Communist Party of the Union Republic or at demand of 1/3 of the total membership of the organisations belonging to the regional, province or Republic Party organisation.

The basis of representation at the regional or province conference or congress of the Communist Party of the Union Republic is determined by the particular regional committee, province committee or Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Union Republic.

The regional or province conference and congress of the Communist Party of the Union Republic hears and acts on the reports of the regional or province committee or Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Union Republic, of the auditing commission and of other regional, territorial or republican organisations, discusses questions of Party, Soviet, economic and trade union work in the particular region, province or republic and elects a regional committee, province committee or Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Union Republic, an auditing commission

and delegates to the Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

42. Regional and province committees and Central Committees of the Communist Parties of the Union Republics elect the corresponding executive bodies consisting of not more than 11 persons, including 3 secretaries to be confirmed by the Central Committee of the Party. The secretaries must have a standing of not less than 5 years.

The regional committees and province committees of the Party and central committees of Communist Parties of Union Republics set up secretariats to handle current questions and verify fulfilment of decisions. The secretariat reports on the adopted decisions to the respective bureau of the regional committee or province committee or Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Union Republic.

43. The regional committees, province committees and Central Committees of the Communist Parties of the Union Republics organise various party institutions within their particular region, province or republic, guide their activities, ensure the undeviating fulfilment of Party directives, the development of criticism and self-criticism, bring up Communists in the spirit of irreconcilable attitude to shortcomings, guide the study of Marxism-Leninism by Party members and member candidates, organise work for the Communist education of the working people, appoint the editorial board of the regional, province or republican Party organ which works under their control, direct the activities of regional, province or republican Soviet and public organisations through the Party groups in them, organise and conduct their own enterprises of general importance to the particular region, province, or republic, allocate within the limits of their organisation the forces and resources of the Party and manage the Party funds of the region, province or republic, keep the Central Committee of the Party systematically informed and submit to the Central Committee a report of their activities by the specified dates.

44. Plenary meetings of regional committees, province committees and Central Committees of the Communist Parties of the Union Republics are convened at least once every two months.

45. Party organisations in autonomous republics and in national and other regions forming part of provinces or Union Republics work under the direction of their particular province committees or Central Committees of the Communist Parties of the Union Republics and guide their internal life by the regulations set forth in section V of the Party Statutes relating to the regional, province and republican organisations.

## VI. Area Party Organisations

46. Area (Okrug) Party organisations are formed in regions, provinces and republics which have areas.

The highest organ of an area Party organisation is the area Party conference which is convened by the area committee at least once in eighteen months, extraordinary conference which is convened by decision of the area committee or at the demand of 1/3 of the total membership of the organisations affiliated to the area organisation.

The area conference hears and acts on the reports of the area committee, the auditing commission and other Party organisations, elects the area Party committee, the auditing commission and the delegates to the regional or province conference or the congress of the Communist Party of the Union Republic.

47. Each area committee elects a bureau consisting of not more than 9 persons, including 3 secretaries of the area committee. The secretaries must have a Party standing of not less than three years. Secretaries of area committees must be confirmed by the regional committee, province committee, Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Union Republic.

Plenary meetings of area committees are convened at least once every month and a half.

48. The area committee organises various Party institutions within its area and directs their activities, ensures the undeviating fulfilment of Party directives, the development of criticism and self-criticism, the training of Communists in the spirit of an irreconcilable attitude to shortcomings, directs the study of Marxism-Leninism by Party members and member candidates, organises the Communist education of the working people, appoints the editorial board of the area Party organ which works under its direction and control, directs the activities of area Soviet and public organisations through the Party groups in them, organises its own enterprises of importance to its area, allocates within the limits of its area the forces and resources of the Party and manages the area Party funds.

## VII. City and District (Rural and Urban) Party Organisations

49. The city (Gorod) or district (Raion) Party conference is convened by the city or district committee at least once a year, extraordinary conferences are convened by decision of the city or district committees or at the demand of 1/3 of the total membership of the organisations affiliated to the city or district organisations.

The city or district (Rural-Selski and Urban-Gorod) conference hears and acts on the reports of the city or district committee, of the auditing commission and other city or district organisations, elects the city or district committee, the auditing commission and the delegates to the province or regional conference or to the congress of the Communist Party of the Union Republic.

50. Each city or district committee elects a bureau consisting of from 7 to 9 persons, including three secretaries of the city or district committee of the Party. Secretaries of the city or district committee must have a Party standing of not less than three years. Secretaries of city and district committees must be confirmed by the regional committee, province committee or Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Union Republic.

51. The city or district committee organises and confirms the primary organisations in industrial enterprises, state farms, machine and tractor stations, collective farms and offices, guides their activities and keeps a register of Communists, ensures the fulfilment of Party directives, the development of criticism and self-criticism and the training of Communists in the spirit of an irreconcilable attitude to shortcomings, organises study of Marxism-Leninism by Party members and member candidates, carries on the Communist education of the working people, appoints the editorial board of the city or district Party organ which works under its direction and control, directs the activities of city or district Soviet and public organisations through Party groups in them, allocates within the limits of the city and the district the forces and resources of the Party and manages the city or district Party funds.

The city or district committee submits to the regional committee, province committee or Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Union Republic a report on its activities on dates and in the form established by the Central Committee of the Party.

52. Plenary meetings of the city or district committees are convened not less than once a month.

53. In large cities, district organisations subordinate to the city committee are set up with the permission of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

#### VIII. Primary Party Organisations

54. The primary Party organisations are the base of the Party.

Primary (Pervichnyye) Party organisations are set up in mills, factories, state farms, machine and tractor stations and other economic establish-



ments, in collective farms, units of the Soviet Army and Navy, in villages, offices, educational establishments, etc., where there are not less than three Party members,

In enterprises, collective farms, offices, etc., where there are less than three Party members, member candidates or Party and Young Communist League groups are set up headed by a Party organiser appointed by the district committee, city committee or political department.

Primary Party organisations are confirmed by the district or city committees or by respective political departments.

The highest organ of the primary Party organisation is the Party meeting, which is convened not less than once a month.

55. In factories, offices, collective farms, etc., where there are over 100 Party members and member candidates, shop, sectional, departmental, etc., Party organisations may be formed within the general primary Party organisation covering the whole factory, office, etc., subject to the approval in each particular case by the district or city committee or by the political department.

Within the shop, sectional, etc. organisations and within the primary Party organisations with less than 100 members and member candidates, Party groups may be formed in the teams (brigades) or work units (sectors) in the enterprise.

56. In large factories and offices where there are over 300 Party members and member candidates, Party committees may be formed, with the sanction of the Central Committee of the Party in every case; the shop Party organisations in such establishments are granted the rights of primary Party organisations.

57. The primary Party organisation connects the mass of workers, peasants and intellectuals with the leading organs of the Party. Its task is:

a) to conduct agitational and organisational work among the masses for carrying out the Party calls and decisions, and to ensure leadership of the factory press (printed newspapers, wall newspapers, etc.);

b) to recruit new members for the Party and to organise their political education;

c) to organise the political education of members and member candidates and to ensure that they acquire a minimum knowledge of Marxism-Leninism;



d) to assist the district committee, city committee or political department in all its practical work;

e) to mobilise the efforts of the masses in the factories, state farms, collective farms, etc. for fulfilment of the production plan, for strengthening labour discipline and for the development of socialist emulation (competition);

f) to combat laxity and mismanagement in factories, state farms and collective farms and to display daily concern for improving the cultural and living conditions of the workers, office employees and collective farmers;

g) to develop criticism and self-criticism and to train the Communists in the spirit of an irreconcilable attitude to shortcomings;

h) to take an active part in the economic and political life of the country.

58. In order to enhance the role of the primary Party organisations in enterprises and trade establishments, including Party organisations in state farms, collective farms and machine and tractor stations, and their responsibility for the state of affairs in the establishments, these organisations have the right to control the work of the management of establishments.

It is the duty of Party organisations in ministries which, owing to the specific conditions of the work of Soviet offices, cannot exercise functions of control, to draw attention to defects in the work of their institutions, to point to shortcomings in the work of the ministry and of any of its personnel and to communicate their information and opinions to the Central Committee and to the heads of the ministry.

Secretaries of primary Party organisations in ministries are confirmed by the Central Committee of the Party.

All Communists working in the central apparatus of a ministry belong to the single general Party organisation of that ministry.

59. For carrying out current work the primary Party organisation elects a bureau consisting of not more than 11 persons for a term of one year.

Bureaus of primary Party organisations are formed in organisations with not less than 15 members.

In Party organisations having less than 15 members no bureaus are formed but a secretary of the primary Party organisation is elected.

With the object of rapidly training and educating Party members in the spirit of collective leadership, shop Party organisations with not less than 15 and not more than 100 members have the right to elect a bureau of the shop Party organisation consisting of from 3 to 5 persons; a shop organisation with over 100 members may elect a bureau of 5 to 7 persons.

In primary Party organisations with not more than 100 Party members, the Party work is conducted as a rule by comrades who are not exempted from their regular jobs.

Secretaries of primary and shop Party organisations must have a Party standing of at least one year.

#### IX. The Party and the Young Communist League

60. The Leninist Young Communist League (Komsomol) of the Soviet Union conducts its activities under the guidance of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. The Central Committee of the L.Y.C.L., as its leading body, is subordinated to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. The activities of the local organisations of the L.Y.C.L. are directed and controlled by the respective republican, province, regional, city and district organisations of the Party.

61. Members of the L.Y.C.L. shall retire from that body the moment they become members or member candidates of the Party, provided they do not fill leading posts in the L.Y.C.L. organisations.

62. The L.Y.C.L. is an active assistant of the Party in all state and economic construction. L.Y.C.L. organisations must be really active transmitters of the Party's directives in all spheres of socialist construction especially where there are no primary Party organisations.

63. L.Y.C.L. organisations enjoy wide initiative in discussing and submitting to the appropriate Party organisations all questions designed to remove defects in the work of factory, collective farm, state farm or office and to help them to improve their work, to organise socialist emulation, to conduct mass campaigns, etc.

X. Party Organisations in the Soviet Army, Navy and in the Transport System

64. The guidance of Party work in the Soviet Army and Navy is exercised by the central political administrations of the Soviet Army and Navy of the U.S.S.R. and in the transport system--by the political departments of the Ministries of Railways of the U.S.S.R., of the Sea and River Fleets of the U.S.S.R. (Merchant Marine and Inland Shipping), which function respectively as departments of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

Party organisations in the Soviet Army and Navy and in the transport system work on the basis of special instructions confirmed by the Central Committee.

65. The chiefs of the political departments of military commands, fleets and armies and the chiefs of political departments of the railways must be Party members of 5 years standing and the chiefs of political departments of divisions and brigades--Party members of 3 years standing.

66. The political bodies must maintain close contact with the local Party committees by means of constant participation by the leaders of the political organs in the local Party committees as well as by means of regular reports made to the Party committees by the chiefs of the political bodies on political work in the military units and by the chiefs of the political departments in the transport system.

XI. Party Groups in non-Party Organisations

67. At all conferences and congresses and in all elected bodies of Soviet, trade union, co-operative and other mass organisations where there are not less than 3 Party members, Party groups are formed whose task is to strengthen the influence of the Party in every respect and to carry out Party policy among the non-Party people, to strengthen Party and state discipline, to combat bureaucracy and to keep a check on the way Party and Soviet directives are fulfilled. The group elects a secretary for its current work.

68. The Party groups are subordinated to the appropriate Party organisations (Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Union Republic, province committee, regional committee, area committee, city committee or district committee).

In all questions the groups must strictly and unswervingly be guided by the decisions of the leading Party bodies.

### XII. Party Funds

69. The funds of the Party and of its organisations consist of membership dues, income from Party enterprises and other receipts.

70. The membership dues payable monthly by Party members and member candidates are fixed as follows (per cent of earnings):

#### Monthly Earnings

Below 500 rubles.....	1/2	per cent
Above 500 but not above 1000 rubles.....	1	per cent
From 1001 to 1500 rubles.....	1 1/2	per cent
From 1501 to 2000 rubles.....	2	per cent
Above 2000 rubles.....	3	per cent

71. Upon admission to the Party as member candidates, an initiation fee is paid amounting to 2 per cent of monthly earnings.

### GEOGRAPHICAL TERMS AND THEIR TRANSLATION

Oblast	Region
Krai	Province
Republika	Republic
Okrug	Area
Gorod	City
Raion	District
Selski	Rural
Gorodski	Urban
Pervichnyye	Primary Party Organisations
Komsomol	Young Communist League

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WORK IN TRADE UNIONS--  
OBLIGATION AND DUTY OF COMMUNISTS

1-39.37/24

(From For a Lasting Peace, for a People's Democracy, Bucharest, Organ of the Information Bureau of the Communist and Workers' Parties, Friday, 8 June 1951, No. 23 (135).)

The trade unions constitute the vital mass organisations of the working class; they are called upon to create and consolidate unity in its ranks, to wage the struggle for peace, for the daily interests of the working people, for the interests of the working class as a whole.

The role of the trade unions, the ways and means of their struggle for the vital interests of the working people, in defence of peace, are quite different in the countries where the working class is in power, and in those countries where power is in the hands of the exploiters of the working masses, the imperialist robbers.

In the capitalist countries, the trade unions that are led by loyal sons of the working class are extending, on an increasingly greater scale, the struggle for the immediate demands of the working people, against the policy of hunger, poverty, suppression of democratic liberties, against the growing fascist danger--the concomitant of the imperialist preparations for aggressive war. They are fighting to defend the national independence of their countries from encroachments by American imperialism.

In present conditions, the role of trade unions in the struggle for peace is steadily growing. Trade unions actively participated in collecting signatures to the Stockholm Appeal. They are displaying even greater activity in the nationwide campaign for a Pact of Peace now under way in all countries.

The trade union organisations are, more and more frequently, holding impressive demonstrations and strikes aimed at defending the interests and demands of the working class; this is seen in the strikes in Italy and France in which millions of working people took part. The strike movement of British and American workers and the recent manifestations of Iranian oil workers, the Brazilian workers, as well as the numerous strikes in other countries--all testify to the intensified struggle of the working class.

The influence of the World Federation of Trade Unions (W.F.T.U.), despite all the efforts of the Right-wing Socialist and other splitters, who, acting on American orders, attempt to divide its ranks, is steadily growing. It now unites 78 million factory and office workers rallied in the trade union organisations in the overwhelming majority of countries. Discontent with the imperialist policy of poverty, hunger and war, with the policy of the disrupters of working class unity, is growing more and more among the members

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of those trade unions whose leaders are opposed to the W.F.T.U.

The working class and the masses of toilers are becoming increasingly aware from their own experience that their strength lies in unity. Only by common effort can the working people bar the way to war, abolish hunger, poverty and unemployment, ensure better working conditions and a better life for the peoples. But this unity can be established and strengthened only in daily struggle, in the course of which the masses, on the basis of the experience gained in class struggle, become convinced of the correctness of the slogans and policy of the Communist Parties, of the fatal consequences of the policy of the Right-wing Socialist Parties and their leaders.

There can be no question of leading the masses, of achieving unity of the working people unless the Communists go to the masses, unless they organise their daily struggle skilfully and selflessly. In all capitalist countries the Communists strive to ensure that the unions affiliated to the World Federation of Trade Unions develop their activity in the correct direction, that they constantly improve their work and strengthen and extend their ranks. Unfortunately, in the trade unions in a number of countries there are as yet few Communists and far from all of these are active trade unionists. It is necessary to end the underestimation of trade union work by Communists and the sectarianism in relation to trade union work, which is still noticeable in some Communist Parties.

Work by Communists in the trade unions and active participation in all matters affecting the daily life and struggle of the working masses is one of the most vital tasks of the Communist and Workers' Parties.

While working to strengthen working class unity, the Communists always bear in mind the need for the most resolute struggle against the enemies of unity. Constant and consistent exposure of the foul actions of the Right-wing Socialist leaders, of their lackey-like subservience to capitalism is a most important duty of the Communists. But in doing this, care must be taken not to confuse the rank-and-file and lower level officials in the American, British and other trade unions with Green and Murray, Deakin and Jouhaux. The task of the Communists is to establish permanent contact with the members of these unions, help them to see through the treacherous policy of the Right-wing leaders and to defend in every way the interests of the trade union masses. Constantly advancing concrete proposals for united action in the struggle of the working people and exposing the Right-wing leaders, the Communists must be able to make the splitters answer to the masses for their treacherous activity. This can be done only if sufficient pressure is exerted on these leaders from below, and if the Communists succeed in realising unity from below. The heroic strikes of the Spanish workers show that united rank-and-file action can be secured even under fascist terror, where there are fascist, falangist trade unions. Wherever there are masses of workers, there the Communists must always work and always be active.



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Altogether different is the status of the trade unions and their role in all social and state life in conditions of victorious Socialism, in conditions of people's power.

In the Soviet Union, which is victoriously building Communism, and in the People's Democracies now laying down the foundations of Socialism, the function of the trade unions is to train the workers, while showing daily solicitude for the working people, to manage Socialist industry, to become conscious builders of the new society.

Comrade Stalin teaches that the trade unions "are not Party organisations. The trade unions may be termed the all-embracing organisations of the working class which is in power in our country. They are a school of Communism. They promote from their midst the best people to carry on leading work in all branches of administration. They form the link between the advanced and the backward elements in the ranks of the working class. They connect the masses of the workers with the vanguard of the working class."

The rapid growth of industrial output in the People's Democracies, the successful fulfilment of economic plans, the powerful socialist emulation movement, the introduction of new social-cultural legislation including social security for the working people, paid holidays, labour protection and many other gains--all these are effected by the people's democratic governments with the active help of the trade unions.

However, even in the People's Democracies, the Communists must greatly intensify their trade union work and eliminate the existing shortcomings in this respect. Some Communist Party branches in the factories frequently take upon themselves the work of the factory trade union committees and trade union organisations, with the result that considerable numbers of trade unionists are not drawn fully into the production life of the enterprises. It happens also that vital trade union matters in the factory are relegated to a few trade union leaders, often in complete isolation from the trade union membership. This is a gross violation of the principles of trade union democracy; it isolates workers from the trade union organisations, from active participation in solving vital problems of social life in the enterprise. There are still quite a few Communists who believe that it is enough for them to be members of the Party and that there is no need to work in the trade unions. Such people do not realise that, in the system of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the trade unions are the vital transmission belt between the Communist Party and the masses, and that systematic active work by Communists in trade unions ensures drawing the broad masses into the work of socialist construction.

Intensification of the work of the Communists in the trade unions is an important task of the Communist Parties. Fulfilment of the task will, in considerable measure, help to effect and consolidate working class unity, will contribute to the further growth of the might of the camp of peace, democracy and Socialism.



# TASKS OF ITALIAN COMMUNIST PARTY IN MASS-ORGANISATIONAL WORK

1-39.37/21

(Excerpt from speech given by Pietro Secchia, Deputy General Secretary, Italian Communist Party, at Seventh Congress of the Italian Communist Party, and printed in For a Lasting Peace, for a People's Democracy, Bucharest, Organ of the Information Bureau of the Communist and Workers' Parties, Friday, 11 May 1951, No. 19 (131.)

## FOR GREATER ACTIVITY BY COMMUNISTS IN THE MASS ORGANISATIONS

The main shortcoming in our work is that we are too slow in mobilising the Party--which should be mobilised ahead of the broad masses of the working people--for defence of the vital interests of the people and in order to transfer the main weight of the political and economic struggle from the sphere of propaganda to operative and concrete actions.

The Party still directly organises much of the work that could be done by the mass organisations. There are two main reasons for this:

- a. The mass organisations, including the biggest and strongest of them, lack a sufficiently solid organisational structure and have not developed broad network of local organisations.
- b. The second reason for the shortcomings in mobilising the masses, in giving rein to their initiative and enlivening the inner life of the trade unions and other mass organisations must be sought in the fact that far too few Communists are working actively in the mass organisations. Far too many Party activists and functionaries devote themselves exclusively to inner-Party work, while in the mass work outside the Party they act as rank and file Party members and not as activists and leaders of the mass organisations.

Take for example, work in the peace committees. Communists are, undoubtedly, the most active members of the peace committees. And this is quite correct. The maximum energy and effort must be devoted to the great movement for peace. All of us are aware of the importance of the peace committees in uniting and mobilising the people, and of the successes that have been achieved not only in collecting signatures but also in propaganda and organising work in the struggle against war.

However, even at the time the campaign for prohibition of the atomic weapon had reached its apex, the peace movement was not broad enough. By September 30, 1950, there were only 3,412 commune peace committees, while all told there are 7,749 communes and the Party has branches in 6,103 of them. Only in Emilia and Tuscany are there peace committees

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in most of the communes. In Emilia there are peace committees in 301 of the 331 communes (there are Party branches in 329 communes). In Tuscany peace committees function in 225 of the 278 communes (there are Party branches in 276 communes). In all other regions there are peace committees in half or even less of the communes. Where there is no branch of the Party in the commune there is no peace committee.

We cannot afford the luxury of 53,000 Communists who are only branch secretaries, and of 106,000 Communists who function only as group organisers. In addition to their Party work, these cadres must engage in activities outside the Party as mayors, communal councillors, leaders and activists in the trade unions, in the co-operatives, in the war veterans and partisans associations, in sports and cultural associations, and in the great movement of peace supporters.

The work of the organising and cadres departments must be concentrated mainly on educating and training cadres and on their activities outside the Party. Comrade Stalin has said: "People have learned to value machinery and to make reports on how many machines we have in our mills and factories. But I do not know of a single instance when a report was made with equal zest on the number of people we have trained in a given period, on how we have assisted people to grow and become tempered in their work. How is this to be explained? It is to be explained by the fact that we have not yet learned to value people, to value workers, to value cadres".

These profound words are extremely valuable for us as well. We have studied our organisations, their structure and the forms of their mutual relations. Many reports have been made on the work of the Party and the technique of its organisation, but very few reports about people, about their capacities and the work they perform.

We have branches with excellent card-indexes, schedules and diagrams. A Communist engaged in organisational work can tell us of the number of basic units and factory committees and how many members pay their dues. But frequently we fail to get an answer to the questions about the activities of these Communists, what work they did in the course of the year and what results accrued from their work.

Little or nothing is known, particularly in the bigger organisations, about the life of the members, what they do and how they study, their personal worries and their needs.

Contact between Party leaders and Party members who often guide the work of big organisations is effected only at crowded meetings of activists. Even a meeting of a federation Party committee is too big an assembly for detailed reports, there are few opportunities to discuss things and to get to know cadres. We must know our cadres and our functionaries better in order to be able to draw more members into work and, what is more, to facilitate direct participation by Party members working in the factories and in villages in solving political

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and organisational problems.

Sometimes there is a lot of empty talk about democratising the Party. Extending inner-Party democracy means activating as many Party functionaries as possible, deepening their consciousness and developing their abilities; it means drawing more and more functionaries not only into discussion of issues facing the Party but also into leading work.

Much better work is done by the leaders of these organisations which involve in studying and solving various problems not only their own functionaries but also the numerous Party activists working in factories, in the trade unions and in other mass organisations.

It is not only a question of involving members on a far wider scale in daily and systematic work in the mass organisations with a clearly defined political or trade union framework. We must orientate members to work also in all organisations and associations which enable us to establish contact with broad sections of the working people who, as yet, do not follow us in our political struggle. Thousands and thousands of working people disappointed with the policy of the clerical regime are ridding themselves more and more from the direct influence of the enemy or leaving his organisations. But they have not yet approached the class organisations of the working people or these organisations with a more clearly expressed militant and political nature.

There are, undoubtedly, many other shortcomings in our work. Organisation work must be raised to the highest level and permeated with political content. Organisational work cannot and must not be isolated from agitation and propaganda, because this robs organisational work of all content, reduces it to vulgar practicalism. We must intensify criticism and self-criticism which are still inadequate and frequently formal. It often happens that no effort is made to concretise shortcomings, to find ways and means of surmounting them, to determine the reasons for failure and lack of success in the work carried out.

We must transform our Party into an instrument of struggle for peace; our organisation must acquire, increasingly, political and creative strength, increased ability for intense active life and work; it must become a more effective instrument for establishing close contact between the Party and the working masses.